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FAMILY TYPE, RESIDENCE AND FERTILITY AMONG SELECTED FAMILIES IN CEBU PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

The study aims:

1. To determine the fertility differentials of couples according to family types (the nuclear and the extended types).

2. To determine the fertility differentials of couples according to the rural-urban residential patterns.

The areas covered in the survey were two communities in Cebu City which represented the urban samples and six communities in the town of Dumanjug which represented the rural samples. A household listing was conducted before the samples were drawn to classify families into the nuclear and extended types.

The urban interviews were conducted on a cluster sampling of households in place of a complete household listing that was expensive and time consumming. For the rural interviews, a systematic random sampling was employed after a complete household listing was achieved. Two hundred (200) urban families with an equal number of nuclear and extended types and, another two hundred (200) rural families likewise with an equal number of nuclear and extended types were randomly selected from 2,357 households listed.

An interview schedule was prepared in English and translated into the Cebuano dialect. The main topics covered demographic background information, fertility levels, influence of other relatives in the extended households, and family planning activities. The interviews lasted an average of one hour.

The findings of this study showed that family structure is not a significant factor for determining differential fertility of the wives. Wives from among both the nuclear and extended families have similar fertility rates in both urban and rural communities selected in this research. However, the data revealed that majority of the wives have low levels of fertility and desire a small or moderate-sized family. These findings seem to support the view that couples, irrespective of family type, are becoming more aware of the value

attached to a small family; that better family life can be attained by having less children, and that fertility rates largely depend upon the decision of the couples alone and not by the type of family arrangements they belong.

On the other hand, the study revealed that residence is a significant variable in determining differential fertility rates of the wives. The rural wives have markedly higher fertility rates than the urban wives. Disparities in socio-economic status, education, family size desires, age at marriage, mortality rates and family planning motivation probably account for the significant fertility difference between the rural and urban wives.

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE PROBLEM UNDER STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The problem of rampant population growth appears to be a serious problem in many places today. This is especially felt among developing countries, such as some of the newly independent African states, a number of South American countries, and most of the Asian countries, including the Philippines.

The rapid growth of the population if unchecked, has grave economic, ecological and social implications. In many places, serious imbalance between economic resources and the number of consumers has already resulted in starvation, poverty, malnutrition as well as the psycho-social effects of deprivation.

Like many developing countries, the Philippines too is confronted with a major obstacle to its development: its growing population. There is an urgent need to achieve a balance between population growth and economic development. Presently, two possible ways of dealing with the problem are identified: to increase economic investments in the form of capital goods or arrest the current population growth rate in order that the people will have more opportunities to better their economic conditions within the limits of available resources.

Considering the difficulty of increasing economic investments this goal appears more difficult to achieve. On the other hand, arresting the growth rate of the population increase involves minimal cost. However, since population control impinges upon cultural values, it is also very difficult to implement. Nevertheless, because the costs involved are less, population control programs have been introduced in various areas in the Philippines, but with varying

degrees of success the lack of success in population control programs can, among other things, be attributed to a lack of understanding of the cultural factors that affect the fertility of couples. One such cultural factor which has received little attention is family structure.

There are a number of studies dealing with family structures but most of them simply look at the issue without attempting to relate it with fertility behavior (Lacar and Cadelina, 1976; Mendez and Jocano, 1974; Heiss, 1968; Eslao, 1966; Rowe, 1966; Goode, 1967; Glick, 1953; Groves, 1940). A number of studies indicated in passing that family structure may affect the fertility behavior of couples (Cadelina, 1967; Grant and Rich, 1974; Back and Hass, 1973; Brandewie, 1973; Lorimer, 1954; Davis, 1955; Palmore, 1972; Rosen and Simmons, 1971; Blake, 1960). Lorimer (1954) for example, suggested that the extended family structure tends to encourage early marriage and high marital fertility. In contrast societies which emphasize the nuclear family structure tend to motivate low fertility because the traditional kinship network is weak.[1]

An added dimension which needs further study is an examination of fertility behavior under different types of family arrangement within the context of urban-rural residence.

THE PROBLEM

This study addresses itself to the understanding of the influences of family structure (nuclear and extended types) and residence (urban and rural) on the fertility behavior of couples, particularly, in some selected urban and rural communties of the province of Cebu.

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[1] See related studies on page 4 for a detailed discussion by other researches on family structure.

OBJECTIVES

The study seeks to:

1. determine the fertility differentials of couples according to family type (the nuclear and extended types).
2. determine the fertility differentials of couples according to residence, i.e., the rural and urban types.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The relationship between two independent variables, namely family structure and place of residence, on the one hand, and fertility of couples on the other hand, will be analyzed. No attempt is made to establish definite cause-and-effect relationship. At best, it will only infer existing influences of the independent variables under consideration on fertility behavior from the empirical findings.

RELATED STUDIES

Nuclear-extended families and fertility

A number of related studies have indicated that family patterns arrangements and the possible influences they exert may have certain impact on the fertility behavior of couples (Lorimer, 1954; Davis and Blake, 1956; Potti and Datta, 1960; Bebarta, 1965; Liu, 1967; Nag, 1967; Pakrasi and Malaker, 1967). These studies have largely focussed in two major types of families in assessing fertility differentials: the nuclear and the extended types of families. Central to the discussion has been the hypothesis of Lorimer (1954) and Davis (1955) which

asserts that the extended family system is associated with high fertility. Despite the scarcity of relevant empirical evidence to prove this, it has gained wide acceptance from among the students interested in the study of family structure and fertility behavior.

It is believed that cultures which idealize the extended family are conducive to high fertility, in-as-much as the responsibility of maintaining the whole family and sustaining their varied needs are shared by all, including the relatives who are considered members of the extended family. This means that the social and economic stability of the family or kin group is enhanced by maximizing births. In contrast, societies which emphasize the neo-local nuclear family tend to exhibit lower fertility. The argument is that a man solely responsible for the support of his immediate family must limit births in order to meet the needs of the family.

However, it seems that evidence, based chiefly from Lorimer's (1954) study in Africa is inadequate to establish the validity of the theory. Nevertheless, it presents significant inferences upon which explicit formulation of principles subject to further verification, can be drawn. High fertility is generally reinforced because it is thought to be an ethnocentric expression of the kinship group; that fertility is believed to be one of the most fundamental factors in the preservation of the kin group and for establishing a dominant lineage within a community. Furthermore, the extended family system does tend to support an early age at marriage and hence obviously a higher level of fertility. This pattern, according to Davis (1955), results from the fact that elders want their children to marry as early as possible. On the one hand, it relieves the household of the burden of sustaining children who are already of marriageable age. On the other, it enables the family group to establish linkages with other families within the community through the bond of marriage in order to widen its network of possible economic sources.

According to Lorimer (1954), among extended families, elder men and women were eager for the younger couples to have as many children as possible, and the younger women likewise wanted more offspring. His study indicated that children were valued as sources of marital

happiness, stability, economic assistance, and as security for old age as well as for continuity of the family lineage.

A study of Kramer (1963) among the Kazahks, a Turkic society in the Russian Steppes, seems to support Lorimer's contention. A Kazahk community comprises a close group of kinsmen, usually numbering ten to fifteen households. The extended family typically includes all the living sons and daughters, married or unmarried, with their wives and husbands and offsprings. Offsprings are highly valued by this particular group, making such institutions as sex and marriage desirable and praise-worthy. A woman is expected to bear children throughout her reproductive years as her status advances with the fulfillment of her role as child bearer.

On the other hand, some writers particularly, Nag (1967), Potti and Datta (1967), Pakrasi and Malaker (1967), and Mathen (1960) argue that extended families tend to favor low fertility. According to a fertility survey carried out in India by Potti and Datta (1967), extended families were discovered to exhibit the lowest fertility level. It was found out that women living in extended households has fewer births than those in nuclear households, a phenomenon attributed to lack of privacy due to the presence of inlaws, parents and other relatives in the household.

One possible factor affecting differences in fertility level according to family structure, is the variation of coital frequency of couples. Nag's (1962) fertility study in India shows that the nuclear family structure, which he calls the "simple family", is possibly one of the main factors favoring high fertility among the population studied by him. Like the findings of Potti and Datta, he observed that lack of privacy, due to over-crowding in the extended households, restricts the regular observance of sexual intercourse.

Nag further observes that among the poor families, husbands and wives usually share the same room with their children and relatives. Among the rural households, even when separate bedrooms are available, partitions between them provide little privacy. Moreover, among rural households, the size of the house is usually too small to adequately accommodate the increasing number of household members.

The presence of married or unmarried children and relatives possibly affects a couple's attitude towards conception and the adoption of family planning. In extended households, the presence of children, for example, can exert certain pressure on the mothers or mothers-in-law to curb their fertility. Giving birth to another child during the pregnancy of their daughters or daughters-in-law may cause embarrassment to the mothers or mothers-in-law concerned. In some cases, the elderly women are subjected to informal forms of social control like teasing or joking. Furthermore, the presence of married children may restrict remarriage of widow or widowers (Nag, 1962).

Some writers on family structure (Burch, 1970; Goode, 1963; Freedman, 1962; Stycos, 1958) however reject the nuclear-extended family scheme as the basis for explaining fertility differentials. They consider this dimension inappropriate to understand fertility levels at a time when most societies of the traditional, cohesive and extended family kinship type have shifted in favor of the more ruggedly individualistic nuclear family system under pressures of modernization and social change. This shift has weakened the influence of the extended family system. Freedman (1962) for instance, argues that the causal link between the extended family and fertility might have been reasonable in the past, but modernization has greatly eroded the relationship. He therefore asserts that present studies on family structure as largely irrelevant to test the Lorimer-Davis hypothesis.

This has been reinforced by Stycos' view (1958) that among developing countries today the extended family system may not be as prevalent as what many writers suggest. The assumption is that the extended, close-knit family of old no longer predominates in many non-industrial societies.

Goode (1963) speculates that there is no relationship between family structure and fertility behavior. Fertility level is determined by the decision of couples alone. The Lorimer-Davis hypothesis proposing that the extended family system encourages and facilitates high fertility may have been true in the recent past but is no longer applicable in the present time.

Greater weight has been given to facotrs other than the family-kinship relationship. Socio-economic variables such as residence,

occupation, age at marriage, education and economic status may presumably have a stronger relationship with fertility.

Urban-rural fertility

Population studies, notably by Concepcion (1963) Fleiger (1977), Freedman, et. al. (1963), the Mysore study (1960) and Thompson (1953), reveal that fertility differentials are conspicuous when compared according to urban-rural residence. Their studies show that fertility levels for the rural population are higher than for the urban population. Concepcion (1963) for instance, has identified certain underlying characteristics of rural living which can contribute to high levels of fertility. These characteristics include low levels of schooling, early age at marriage, unemployment especially on the part of the women, and the economic values attached to children.

The sharp and pronounced differences by socio-economic status, education, occupational status of wives and age at marriage of couples, between the rural and urban people are some of the factors accounting for fertility differences. Rural people are on the whole less schooled and less well-off economically and socially than urban residents. Also, more significant is the fact that rural women generally marry earlier than urban women. Unlike their rural counterparts, urban women with high educational background have a larger range of alternatives other than marriage and childbearing. Such avenues are generally limited to rural women. Thus, painfully employed urban women tend to defer or postpone marriage.

Thompson (1953) expresses a similar view. The fertility of rural women with low income, poor educational background, and engaged in manual labor, is higher than that of the city women who have higher income, better education, and hold white-collar jobs. He further adds that urban wives who work outside the home tend to have fewer children than do rural wives whose work is mostly confined to the home.

Fawcett, et. al. (1971) pointed out that city life accompanied by industrialization and modernization has considerably changed the attitude of parents towards the value of children. Couples try to limit births due to the economic costs involved in raising a child.

The care of children is viewed as more of a burden for families in the urban areas than for families in the rural places. The economic gains by having children are less important among the urban group, whereas among the rural group the economic utility of children is underlined.

Other studies on rural-urban fertility differentials, such as those of Freedman, et. al. (1963) in Taiwan, Hashmi (1964) in Pakistan, and the Mysore Study (1960) in India, have reached similar conclusions. The general fertility is found to be higher among the rural families than among the urban ones. The level of fertility is low wherever development is most advanced (urban areas) and is high in the countryside where social and economic advancements are low.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The above studies of fertility differentials reveal the following:

1. One group of writers and researchers, especially Lorimer and Davis, asserts that positive relationship exists between the extended family structure and high levels of fertility;

2. Another group considers the opposite as true; that the nuclear family with its attendant characteristic features is more conducive to high fertility;

3. A third group of researchers are of the opinion that family structure, although previously significant in determining fertility differentials, is no longer a valid one for the present because rapid urbanization and modernization have eroded traditional values regarding the family and kin group. Instead they feel that rural-urban residence is more important for determining fertility.

Based on the contending assertions and findings of the various researchers, this study attempts to analyse the importance of these two variables (family type and residence) in influencing the fertility performance of couples in Cebu.

HYPOTHESES

Specifically, this study seeks to test the following hypotheses:

1. There is no significant difference between the nuclear and extended types of families on their mean fertility scores.

2. There is no significant difference between urban and rural types of residence on their fertility scores.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In order to facilitate understanding of this study, some terms are defined as follows:

1. Family Structure. The organizational and functional arrangements of the family in which members are expected to interact, perform their specified roles and functions, and also enjoy certain privileges and rights.

2. Family Type. A particular family structure or arrangement, which is commonly found among a good number of families within a certain group so as to constitute a norm. Examples: nuclear type of family, extended family.

3. Nuclear Family. A household consisting of husband and wife with their unmarried children.

4. Extended Family.[1] It consists of a nuclear family plus the presence of either or both of the couple's parents or parents-in-law, or grandparents, as well as any of the following other relatives:

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[1] For further discussion see Appendix B, page 124.

a. either of the couple's siblings and his immediate family,

b. unmarried sibling,

c. married son or daughter, and immediate family,

d. married cousin and his immediate family,

e. unmarried cousins

f. married niece of nephew and her/his immediate family,

g. unmarried niece or nephew eighteen years old and above.

5. Fertility. The couple's reproductive performance which is usually measured according to the number of live births.

6. Differential Fertility. Differences of live births between the groups under study.

7. Residence. Place of abode or location of the families, dichotomized according to its proximity or remoteness from an urban center or metropolis; it is in particular, the urban and rural residence of families under study.

a. rural families - farm families residing in the remote countryside outside the town of Dumanjug, some 80 km, away from the city.

b. urban families - families residing in the more or less permanent and exclusive sections in the city. In this study, they are the families residing in Barrios Guadalupe and Capitol Site.

METHODOLOGY

Sample Survey Design

The study was designed to determine whether significant relationships exist between the fertility of couples and the two independent variables: family structure and types of residence. A survey was done among some randomly selected urban and rural couples in a number of

barangays in the province of Cebu.

Random selection of the sample areas. In the choice of the population, it was important to concentrate on places that offered good possibilities for the objectives to be achieved. Consequently, the study areas and prospective respondents had to be identified.

As planned, the areas selected were characteristically open to demographic comparisons. The barrios were randomly drawn on the basis of their contrasting geographical and socio-economic features.

The barrios of Guadalupe and Capitol Site were randomly chosen from among a list of all non-slum barangays in the city. These barangays are made up of largely permanent city residents of higher socio-economic backgrounds. Unlike some demographic studies on human fertility done in the past, the research excluded population from the slum areas. It is general knowledge that slums are largely populated by transient squatters and migrant-residents, usually of rural origin, so that it will be erroneous to regard them as urban dwellers, even if they are presently residing in the city.

Of the total municipalities of the province, Dumanjug was randomly chosen to represent the rural sample. The six barrios of Dumanjug offered significantly contrasting socio-cultural features compared to the two urban barrios mentioned above. These communities situated in the hinterland of the town, are about 10 to 15 kilometers from the poblacion of Dumanjug. They are populated by typical rural Cebuanos who are generally subsistance farmers.

Data-gathering of household samples. The choice of families was based on the data gathered from a household listing conducted before the actual interview. (See description of household listing, Appendix A, page 79). A total of two thousand three hundred fifty-seven (2,357) households were enumerated for the above purpose from the designated areas (see Tables I and II, Appendix A , page 80).

Classification and selection of households.

Based on the above definitions of two family types under consideration (see page 9), all families covered in the listing were classified.

Identification of families was limited to the nuclear-extended, urban-rural types (see Table III and IV, Appendix A).

From these classified households, fifty (50) nuclear and fifty (50) extended households from each of the two city barangays designated in the study were randomly selected, making a total of two hundred (200) households in the urban sample. Of the classified rural households, one hundred (100) nuclear and one hundred (100) extended families were likewise randomly selected from the six rural barangays in the town of Dumanjug, (see Appendix A, page 82 for a brief discussion of the sampling method).

The Interview Schedule

The survey data was obtained through an interview schedule devised for this study (see Appendix A, page 77 for the questionnaire). The questionnaire was pre-tested and revision were made before the final schedule was ready for use. This was to ensure the validity of the items and correct translation of the original English form to the Cebuano dialect, for the rural sample.

Interviewers

The technique used in the collection of data was personal interview done orally by the interviewers. The writer did the interviewing together with a number of assistants who were previously trained for this specific task. The team of interviewers included four out-reach workers from the Population Commission, Cebu Agency, four college students, and six elementary school teachers from the six rural barangays.

The Formal Interview

The urban cases took precedence. A list containing the respondent's name, number, home address and telephone number was prepared. Appointments for interview were made. Generally, each interview lasted one hour.

Oftentimes the interview on the specific area of sex was conducted by male interviewers with the husbands of the family. Young and old relatives of the extended households such as parents, parent-in-law, and/or other mature kin, were likewise interviewed, particularly on items covered in Block V (see interview schedule).

The rural respondents were entirely made-up of parents of pupils of the teacher-interviewer in the respective barangays identified in the rural sample. These teachers conducted the interviews mainly in the respondents' homes. In some instances, interviews were done in the school when respondents visit the school for other purposes. The interviews were smoothly administered since the teachers as symbols of authority enjoy the respect and trust of respondents.

Data Analysis

Coding and tabulation of data was done soon after the interviews were completed. Measures of central tendency, particularly the mean was computed from the raw scores in order to establish the typical fertility behavior of couples under consideration, within their own family structure and residential background. The chi-square and correlation tests were sometimes computed to test relationships between some of the variables in the study. Analysis of variance and Z test were used to determine the significance of differences of the fertility behavior of couples based on family arrangements and residential types.

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL SETTING AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF THE FAMILIES

The Province of Cebu

Cebu is an island about 200 kilometers long and 40 kilometers wide. It is the third smallest province in the Visayan region, but it contains more people than any other provinces in the Philippines. There are more than two million people on the island.

Table 1 shows the ten most populous provinces in the Philippines. From the table it is clear that Cebu is also the second most densely populated province. Its population density has increased from 321.2 persons per square kilometer in 1970 to 410.8 in 1980 or an increase of about 90 persons per square kilometer over a period of ten years. This density is 2.5 times as great as the national average, which is 159.7 persons per square kilometer. Compared with the other populous provinces, Cebu's density is surpassed only by Pampanga. However, Pampanga's land area is less than one-half of Cebu. It should be noted that except for Pampanga and Batangas, the provinces listed all have land areas comfortably larger than Cebu. Its area comprises only 1.7 percent of the Philippine land mass.

Cebu is characterized by depleted natural resources and severely limited area of arable land. The soil is generally infertile and rocky, the mountains are denuded, and the entire island is constantly beset by low rainfall and long periods of droughts. Consequently, the agricultural economy is poor.

As a result rural poverty is widespread in Cebu. Most subsistence farmers are unable to produce enough food to feed their families. This is indicated from the data on household income. There are some families which earn less than one hundred pesos a month. Household incomes range from eighty pesos per month to nine hundred pesos.

Table 1

Land Area, Population Density and Rank in Population Size

of the Ten Most Populous Provinces in the Philippines

Province	Land Area (sq. km.)	Percentage of total land area	Population	Rank	Persons Per Square Kilometer	
					1970	1980
Cebu	5,088.4	1.70	2,090,317	1	321.2	410.8
Negros Occidental	7,926.1	2.90	1,936,770	2	189.7	244.4
Pangasinan	5,368.2	1.85	1,636,520	3	258.2	304.9
Ilo-ilo	5,324.0	1.80	1,432,000	4	219.4	268.0
Leyto	6,268.3	2.10	1,302,377	5	177.2	207.8
Zamboanga del Sur	8,594.9	2.90	1,178,700	6	104.2	137.1
Pampanga	2,180.7	0.73	1,175,314	7	416.0	539.0
Batangas	3,165.8	1.06	1,173,767	8	292.6	370.8
Davao del Sur	6,377.6	2.12	1,134,436	9	123.1	177.9
Quezon	11,946.2	4.0	1,129,138	10	82.3	94.5
PHILIPPINES	300,000	100.0	47,914,017		122.3	159.7

Family life among the rural families is essentially characterized by poverty, over-crowding, and malnutrition. A significant number of the families interviewed live in small dilapidated huts that have no bedrooms at all. Some do not even have a bed. Members of the family sleep on the floor of the main house within the kitchen.

Household utensils consist of a number of earthen pots, a kettle or two, a few plastic plates and bowls, and an earthen jar to hold drinking water. A wooden trunk serves as furniture as well as storage space for the meagre clothing of the family. Their diet consists of corn, salted fish and some boiled leafy vegetables, commonly called "kamungay". Boiled bananas, sweet potatoes and cassava supplement the staple diet of corn.

There are no books, magazine or newspapers in the house. A few comic strips are the only common reading material shared by the neighbourhood. However, majority of the households do own portable radios.

Most barrio teachers agree that the average farm pupil attends less than one-half of the total meetings for the whole year because they are required to help at the farm. And if by chance a child is able to cmplete his elementary education, his prospect of acquiring secondary training is almost nil since the family will be too poor to bear the costs of further education.

Most rural families derive their income from the farm, either as land-owners or as tenants. Poverty seems to be a common lot shared by the people in the countryside. The low income derived from the farm can be attributed to a number of factors, such as poor soil, obsolete farming methods, and lack of strong incentives to better their conditions. Denudation of hills caused by wanton destruction of trees by kaingineros resulted in severe erosion of the fertile soil, and consequently, the disappearance of watersheds which provide water for farming and for daily needs. Dried-up river beds are a common sight all over the island. Destructive floods(during the monsoons) also carry and wash away the top soil since there is no surface vegetation at the headwaters to absorb the runoff. Crop yields are therefore meagre.

For the poor peasants of Cebu, the future is dismal indeed, unless some very constructive assistance and guidance from the government and civic groups are given.

The city of Cebu has long been the principal trading center of the south dating from as far back as the pre-Spanish period. Snugly located in the heart of the province and the center of the Visayas region, its strategic position enables it to develop into as a lively trading and cultural center. The decades after World War II, especially the sixties and seventies, saw Cebu through a period of rapid transition from a simple and quaint colonial little city to a bustling metropolis. Although this transformation has raised the general living standard of many people, especially of the upper and middle classes and of the newly formed groups of entrepreneurs, it has made little, if any, improvement in the living conditions of the masses whose marginal existence have obviously worsened by their overcrowding and unemployment.

Hand in hand with the poor economic conditions of the people is the steady increase in population. In the city this increase has been brought about by the steady influx of migrants from the towns and neighboring provinces. For the last 10 years thousands of Cebuano families who had permanently settled in various parts of Mindanao were forced to return to Cebu as a consequence of the Muslim trouble and its attendant insecurities.

In addition to the above factors, low incidence of mortality largely brought about by improving sanitation and accessibility of relatively inexpensive medical assistance contributed likewise to the population increase of the province.

It is alarming to note that the growth rate remains high for this geographically small island with limited resources and high rates of unemployment. This inverse relationship between a steady downward movement of economic conditions for the larger masses on one hand, and population growth on the other, presents a formidable problem for a society which is in the process of urbanization and industrialization.

A number of popular beliefs and/or explanations for rapid population growth have been put forth. These include the desire to have many children by couples, ignorance about contraceptive methods, birth control not readily available, condemnation of modern methods of birth control by the Catholic Church, and others. These seemingly plausible explanations are however not the real reasons. For instance, there has been a proliferation of family planning clinics all over the city and province, which together with the hospitals, have been providing materials and advice on birth control methods, as well as offering free sterilization services to willing couples. In spite of the availability of the above-mentioned assistance from the medical groups accessible to anyone, population has continued to grow.

Demographic Characteristics

A brief description of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the families in the sample by urban and rural residence and by family type is provided below.

Household composition. Of the two hundred (200) urban households investigated, 100 are neo-local family units residing independently from parents, relatives, and other kin. The other 100 are extended families in which couples live with their parents, married siblings, nephews and nieces, and other relatives under one roof and sharing the same household budget. The same applies to the rural sample. But unlike the urban cases, nuclear families in the rural areas still maintain more frequent communication with relatives who reside within their locale than their urban counterparts. It is not uncommon for a person to claim blood relations with most families belonging to a barangay unit. If parents, grandparents of sibling live outside that community, they are likely to be residing in a neighboring barrio in close proximity to the couple's home. Hence, they often meet one another in their day-to-day activities outside

the house. Only 12 cases of the rural nuclear family type reported no relatives in their locality, the rest have relatives residing either right in their own barrio or in the neighboring areas of the municipality.

Only 4 out of 10 extended families in the rural sample could meet the prescribed extended household criterion defined earlier. (see definition of terms). Some adjustments were therefore subsequently made to accommodiate the residential pattern of the rural households. If the couple's domicile is located within the same farm or lot where their parents, grandparents, in-laws or married sibling reside, the family was automatically drawn as a prospective extended household sample. This, of course, is a departure from the selection used for the urban extended families.

Another criterion used in the selection of the rural extended households was communication between couples and their relatives. Although outwardly majority of the families reside independently, frequency of contact with the kin is extremely high. Furthermore, members of the original household including the married siblings, and their families share the same property and derive their livelihood from the same land. Rural extended families or those considered in this study, differ further from the urban extended families since they do not share a common board as well as household budget with their parents, in-laws, siblings and grandparents. Sixty percent of the rural extended households belong to this set-up.

In terms of household oomposition, the mean number of persons per urban nuclear household is 4.8 while the average number of children is 2.8. For the urban extended families, the corresponding means are 8.0 and 2.4. Rural nuclear families on the other hand have means of 6.6 persons and 4.6 children, while rural extended families have 14.9 persons and 4.2 children. The number of people in rural extended household is more than twice that of the rural nuclear family, 3 times larger than the urban nuclear family, and almost twice as large as the urban extended family. This could be a direct consequence of the kinship system of rural Filipinos who trace their relationship both vertically and horizontally.

The mean number of relatives in rural extended households is 8.9. When compared with the urban extended families (3.6 relatives) rural extended families have about more than twice as many relatives residing in the same household. This difference in the number of relatives in favor of the rural extended families signifies a strong relationship existing between rural residence and the number of relatives present in the household. The difference between means is significant. This is made stronger by the fact that some rural families tend to establish homes within their relatives' vicinity , in groups of 2, and in some cases, in clusters. This phenomenon strongly suggests there is a socio-psychological-economic need for the married couple's to stay close to their parental homes even though they live in separate dwellings. Parents on the other hand, also encourage this kind of set-up as children and their spouses can assist in farm chores as well as keep them company in their old age. In some instances, parents consider children or in-laws who are desirous of cutting off ties in favor of more autonomy and privacy as selfish, and ungrateful or non-caring. (See Table 2)

Table 2

Number of Children, Relatives, and Persons Per Household by Family Type and Residence

N=400

	Urban Nuclear	Urban Extended	Rural Nuclear	Rural Extended
Number of Children (mean)	2.8	2.4	4.6	4.16
Number of Persons per household (mean)	4.8	8.0	6.6	14.97
Relatives present (mean)	-	3.6	-	8.9
Total number of relatives present	-	363	-	889

In the selection of the extended, urban and rural households, both collateral and generational extension of relatives present in the household are considered. In this study the criterion is to have at least one collateral extended relative such as married or unmarried brother /in-law or sister/ in-law or cousin and one generational relative such as grandparent/ in-law, parent/ in-law, uncle or aunt. Ninety-eight percent of the urban extended families and ninety-five percent of the rural extended families are 3 generational households. This generational make-up is composed of the following:

1. couple's parents, grandparents and/ or uncle and aunt (first generation);

2. married or unmarried brothers or sistes or both, and/ or cousins (second generation);

3. immediate children and/ or brother's or sister's children (third generation); and

4. couple's married son's or daughter's children (fourth generation).

Four rural extended families had 4 generations where the respondent's married sons or daughters with their children live with them. Table 3 gives some related figures on the extended family by residence.

Age composition. The mean ages of husbands and wives in the urban nuclear families, are 33.0 and 29.1 respectively. The age range for wives is from 19 years to 40 years. Urban extended couples have mean ages of 32.6 and 28.9 for husbands and wives. The age range for wives is identical with that of the wives of urban nuclear families. An average age of 30 for both urban nuclear and extended housewives means that on an average they still have a decade or more of childbearing years ahead of them.

Rural husbands from the nuclear families were, on the average, older than their wives by more than 3 years while husbands from rural

Table 3

Number of Generations of the Members in

Extended Households

N = 200 Households

(Percent)

Number of Generations	URBAN Households	RURAL Households
2 generations	2.0	1.0
3 generations	98.0	95.0
4 generations	-	4.0
Total (percent)	100.0	100.0
Cases	100	100

extended households were about a year older than their wives. Rural nuclear husbands were older than rural extended husbands by almost 6 years. Table 4 presents the ages of both urban and rural couples classified by family type.

Rural wives were 2 years older than urban wives, while rural husbands were older than the urban husbands by a year. However, the age difference between nuclear couples tended to be greater than that between the extended couples, although the disparity between the couples from the two family types was not large.

Age at marriage. Urban couples of both family types marry at the same age of about 27.0 and 24.0 years for husbands and wives, respectively. Among rural couples, the wives from both family types also got married at about the same age, but their respective husbands' age at marriage are not similar. Husbands in extended families married earlier than those in nuclear families.

A comparison of figures found in Table 5 shows rural wives to have married earlier than their urban peers. In fact, teenage marriage is prevalent in rural households. Roughly five out of every 10 rural wives married in their teens whereas the proportion among urban wives is only 2 out of every 10. This partially explains why the rural families have more children than the urban group.

Marriage Duration. During the interview the urban couple had already been married for at least 7 or 8 years and have had an average of 2.6 children. Because of the relative youthfulness of the couples, the wives still have many more years in which they will be exposed to pregnancy. In contrast, rural wives had been married about 4.0 mean years longer than the urban wives. At this point the rural wives have given birth to 4.6 number of children. Possible exposure to pregnancy for the average rural women is virtually the same as that of the urban wife.

Table 4

Ages of Couples by Family Type
and Residence

N = 400 Couples (Percent)

Residence	Family Type	Cases	AGES OF WIVES						
			15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40+	Mean
Urban									
	Nuclear	100	1.0	11.0	35.0	29.0	16.0	8.0	29.1
	Extended	100	2.0	15.0	37.0	28.0	10.0	8.0	28.9
	Both	200	1.5	13.0	36.0	28.5	13.0	8.0	
Rural									
	Nuclear	100	3.0	11.0	21.0	26.0	23.0	16.0	32.4
	Extended	100	8.0	19.0	23.0	21.0	13.0	16.0	29.5
	Both	200	5.5	15.0	12.0	23.5	18.0	16.0	30.95
			AGES OF HUSBANDS						
Urban									
	Nuclear	100	-	4.0	27.0	30.0	26.0	13.0	33.0
	Extended	100	1.0	3.0	26.0	32.0	22.0	16.0	32.6
	Both	200	0.5	3.5	21.5	31.0	24.0	14.5	
Rural									
	Nuclear	100	1.0	9.0	16.0	20.0	20.0	34.0	36.0
	Extended	100	1.0	13.0	32.0	18.0	15.0	21.0	30.6
	Both	200	1.0	11.0	24.0	19.0	22.5	27.5	

Table 5

Couples' Ages at Marriage by Family Type and Residence

Residence	Family Type	Mean Age at Marriage	Mean Years Married
		WIVES	
Urban			
	Nuclear	24.0	8.8
	Extended	23.9	7.2
	Both	23.7	7.8
Rural			
	Nuclear	19.6	12.8
	Extended	19.1	10.4
	Both	19.2	12.3
		HUSBANDS	
Urban			
	Nuclear	27.4	8.0
	Extended	27.8	7.2
	Both	27.6	7.8
Rural			
	Nuclear	23.2	12.8
	Extended	20.2	10.4
	Both	22.0	12.3

Table 6

Occupation and Employment Status of Couples
by Age of Wives (Percent)

N = 200 Urban Couples

WIVES

AGE	Employment Status		Type of Occupation			Cases
	Unemployed	Employed	Professional	Business	Clerical	
15–19	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	–	3
20–24	9.5	3.5	2.0	0.5	1.0	26
25–29	13.0	23.0	18.5	0.5	4.0	72
30–34	5.5	23.0	18.0	1.5	3.5	57
35–39	1.0	12.0	9.5	–	2.5	26
40+	–	8.0	6.5	–	1.5	16
Total						
Percent	29.5	70.5	55.0	3.0	12.5	100.0
Cases	59	141	110	6	25	200

HUSBANDS

			Professional	Business	Managerial	Clerical	Cases
15–19	0.5	1.0	–	0.5	–	0.5	3
20–24	0.5	12.5	10.0	0.5	–	2.0	26
25–29	–	36.0	29.5	3.0	2.0	1.5	72
30–34	–	28.5	22.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	57
35–39	–	13.0	8.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	26
40+	–	8.0	4.0	1.5	0.5	2.0	16
Total							
Percent	1.0	99.0	73.5	10.5	5.5	9.5	100.0
Cases	2	198	147	21	11	19	200

Occuption and income. Only two cases out of the total number of urban husbands are unemployed. Of those employed, 51 percent are in private firms, 25 percent in the government service, 13.5 percent are professionals and 10.5 percent are engaged in business (cf Table 6).

More than two-thirds (70.5 percent) of the wives are also employed. Of this, 58.8 percent are working as clerks, cashiers, bank-tellers, accountants and teachers in private concerns, 35 percent are employed in various government agencies, and 4.2 percent practise their professions independently. Of those not employed elsewhere, majority are engaged in business. The housewives belonging to this group significantly contribute to the family coffers; they are not just supplementary earners but principal breadwinners side by side with their husbands. Among the working wives, 85 percent hold permanent jobs. Forty percent earn as much or even more than their husbands.

The monthly income of the urban families ranged from ₱1000.00 among newly married couples of the nuclear households with one or no children to ₱5000.00 among extended households with 3, 4 or more members contributing to the total income of the family. Obviously extended households have a higher mean income than nuclear households because the number of people contributing to the household is higher.

Table 7

Income and Employment by Family Type (Urban)

	Extended	Nuclear
Mean household income (Pesos)	2299.5	1373.5
Percent employed (Husbands)	99	99
Percent employed (Wives)	75	66

In a rural society in which the economy is based on subsistence farming, the economic role of wives is just as important as that of the men. Although the husband is the major decision maker in the planning, cultivation and management of the farm, he is not the family's only provider. The wife, aside from managing her household, also does the manly tasks like the menfolk. She is likely to be present during the weeding, planting and harvesting of crops. Unlike her city non-working counterpart whose work is confined to the lighter tasks around the house, she contributes a large share of the labor in the field. In majority of the cases, the wives reported working in the farm most of the time; only 6 percent reported that their tasks were limited to household chores and the backyard. This was because their husbands were non-farm workers.

Table 8

Income and Farm Tenure of Rural Families by Family Type

	Nuclear		Extended		Both	
	₱	land tenure	₱	land tenure	₱	land tenure
Farm worker (%)	-	92	-	94	-	94
Non-farm worker (%)	-	8	-	6	-	7
Median income	200.9	-	200.46	-	200.68	-
Mean income	294.5	-	324.5	-	309.50	-
Farm-owner (%)	-	20	-	18	-	19
Tenant (%)	-	72	-	76	-	74
Neither farm owners nor tenants	-	8	-	6	-	7

The average income of the rural household is 13 times lower than that of the urban family. This marginal income creates a severe strain on the family resources, notably that of the extended family whose membership is almost 3 times more than that of the nuclear family. The income of the rural extended household is only about 0.37 median points larger than that of the nuclear household. This means that extended families are more burdened with additional mouths to feed. The following table shows data on income and employment status of the rural households.

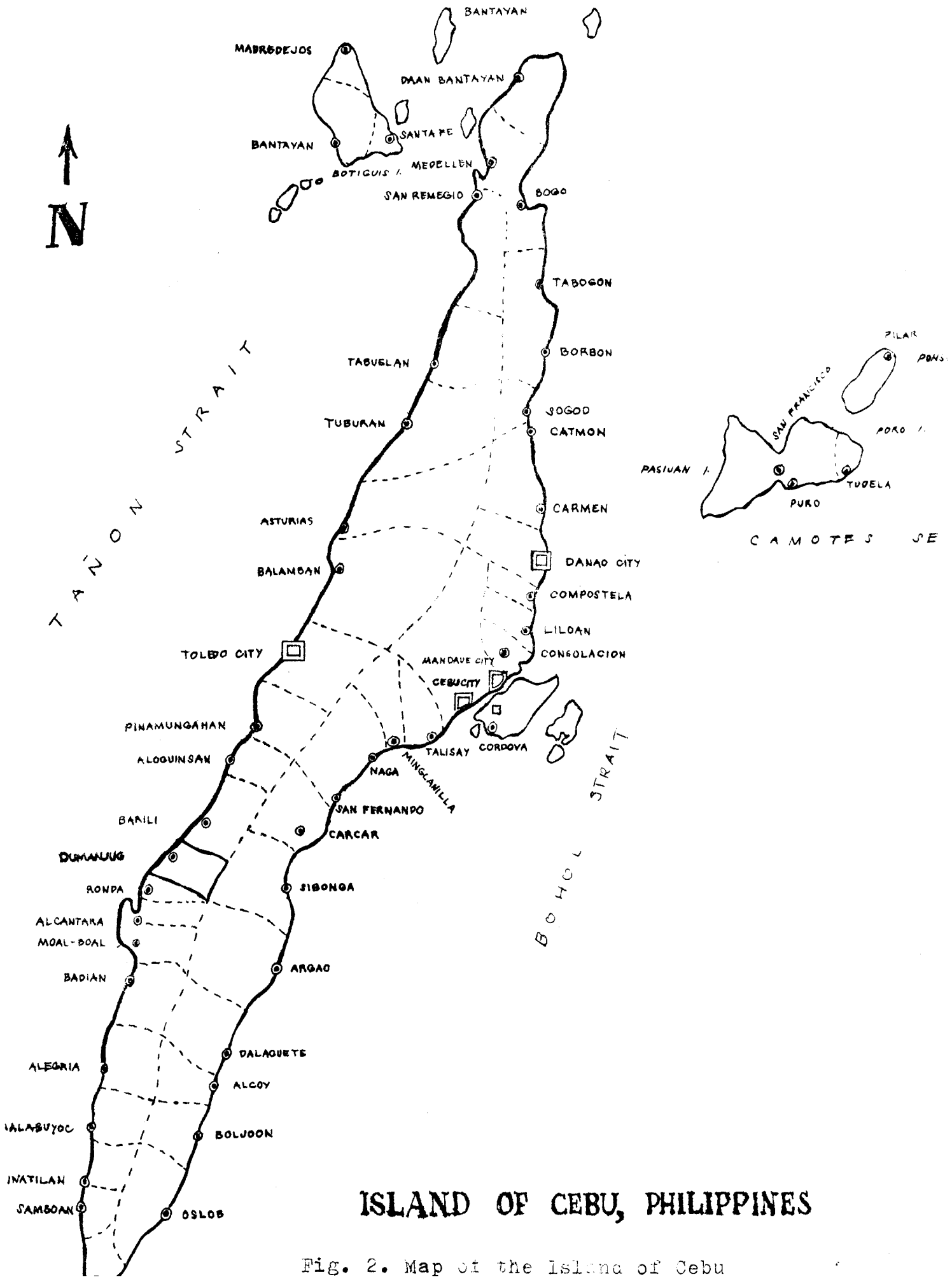
Data in table 8 shows why the net income of the rural family is so low. More than 74% of the rural households do not own their own farms but only work as tenants. Only 19 percent of the farm workers own farms.

The non-farm workers are engaged in skilled or semi-skilled occupations such as carpentry, motorcab driving, shop apprenticeship and small storekeeping.

Residence. About three-fourths of the urban wives have established residence in the city since birth. Seventy-one percent of the urban couples own the house they live in while the rest live in rented apartments in the more exclusive sections of the city.

All the rural families are located in the remote barangays of the province. The 200 households come from the barangays in the municipality of Dumanjug which is located southwest of the city of Cebu, about 80 kilometers away. Barangays Balayg'tiki, Bulak, Doldol, Kanghumaud, Manla pay and Pawa are small communities situated at the mountainous section of the province, some 12 to 18 kilometers away from the poblacion. From the poblacion these barangays are accessible by motorcabs and cargo trucks; hence, majority of the barrio folks do not find transportation a serious problem.

Majority of the respondents (96 percent) were barrio born; a few were born in the poblacion. Of the husbands, 15 percent reported they were born in the poblacion. Majority of the couples have settled in these places for a number of decades. The rest have lived in their barrios since birth. Residential mobility for both the urban and rural families is not great.



ISLAND OF CEBU, PHILIPPINES

Fig. 2. Map of the Island of Cebu

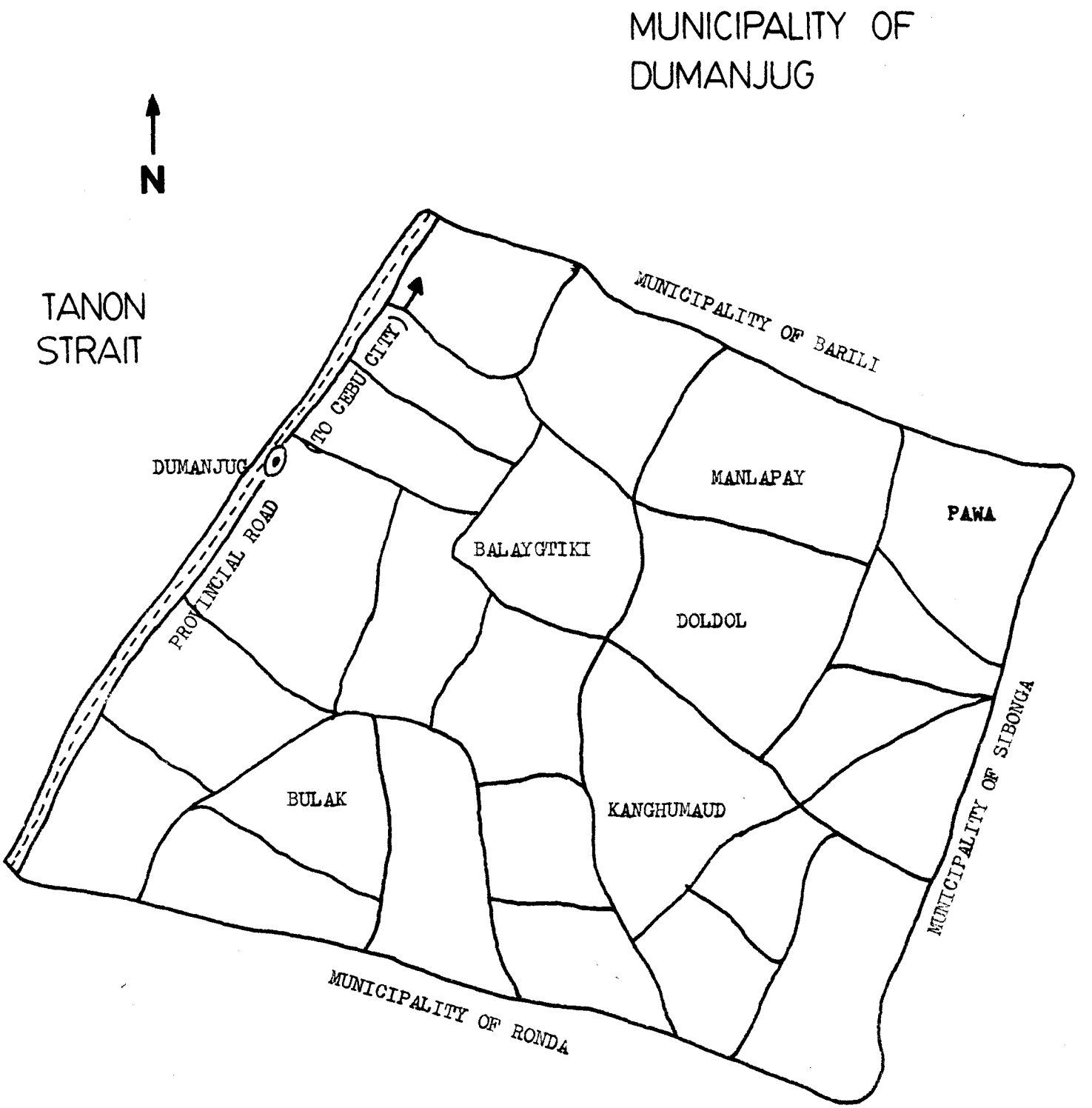


FIG 2. LOCATION OF THE SIX RURAL COMMUNITY SAMPLES

Education. The educational attainment of urban couples of both family types is essentially similar; 84.5 percent of the wives finished college education; 10.5 percent had some college education and only 5.5 percent stopped schooling after graduating from high school as a result of marriage and/or pregnancy. The lowest educational level attained by the women of this group is secondary education (see Table 9).

Of the husbands in the urban households, 81 percent have finished college, 12 percent had some college education, while 7 percent only graduated high school. There are more husbands than wives who have not gone to college after finishing high school.

The average rural couple barely finished the four years of primary education. Factors like malnutrition, hunger, lack of school supplies, constant absences and tardiness, passive and/or indifferent attitude of parents toward education of their children etc., had prevented the rural folks from furthering their education beyond primary school.

Also farm families look upon children as potential help to the family labor force. As children reach adolescent years, parents expect them to contribute much more service. Hence many parents tend to perceive further education as a barrier to these expectations. The children quit school altogether or attend classes irregularly. Male children, especially, are obligated to work in the farm during the planting, cultivating, and harvesting seasons, while female children often stay home as mother-surrogates minding household chores as the mothers go out to the field to work with the men.

Among the respondents, the mean number of years of education attained is 4.7 for wives and 4.2 for husbands. This can be expected since boys contribute more to farm work than girls. Illiteracy is more than twice as high among husbands than among the wives. Of the wives, 6 percent have gone through high school of which one-third of them failed to graduate.

Four percent of the husbands attended high school, but one-half

Table 9

Education of Couples by Family Type
(Percent)

N = 200 Urban Families

	Educational Level			
	High School Graduate	College Level	College Graduate	Cases
NUCLEAR				
Wives	-	17.0	83.0	100
Husbands	9.0	9.0	82.0	100
Mean Percent	4.5	13.0	82.5	100.0
Total Cases	9	26	165	200
EXTENDED				
Wives	3.0	11.0	86.0	100
Husbands	5.0	15.0	80.0	100
Mean Percent	4.0	13.0	83.0	100.0
Total Cases	8	26	166	200
BOTH				
Wives	1.5	14.0	84.5	100
Husbands	7.0	12.0	81.0	100
Mean Percent	4.25	13.0	82.75	100.0
Total Cases	8.5	26	165.5	200

Table 10

Years of Schooling of Couples by
Family Type
(Percent)

N = 200 Rural Families

	WIVES Years Schooled						
Family Type	0	1–2	3–4	5–6	7–8	9+	Mean Years Schooled
Nuclear	1	9	42	43	2	3	4.53
Extended	1	11	30	51	2	5	4.84
Both	1	10	36	47	2	4	4.69

	HUSBANDS Years Schooled						
Family Type	0	1–2	3–4	5–6	7–8	9+	Mean Years Schooled
Nuclear	3	19	32	38	6	2	4.19
Extended	2	16	39	38	5	-	4.20
Both	2.5	17.5	35.5	38	5.5	1	4.2

dropped out before the third year. Only 30 percent of the wives, and 20 percent of the husbands completed the sixth year elementary course and were never able to reach the next level (see Table 10).

Pregnancy History. Rural couples from both nuclear and extended families, who have been married for ten years, on the average have 4.54 live births. By the 20th year of marriage the average rural couple has 8.55 children. Rural nuclear families have a slightly higher cumulative fertility than the rural extended couples. In contrast, urban couples married for 10 years have 2.4 mean live birth. By the 20th year, urban couples have produced 4.8 live births.

The number of live births among rural couples appears to be slightly higher than the actual number of children per household (mean = 4.5 children). This discrepancy between live births and actual number of children per household is due to child mortality. The data registered 27 dead rural children and 4 dead urban children. Table 11 below shows the specific levels of birth by wives' marriage duration.

Table 11

Number of live Births by marriage duration
by Family Type and Residence
(mean)

Length of marriage (years)	Urban			Rural		
	Nuclear	Extended	Both	Nuclear	Extended	Both
Less than 2 years	0.5	0.68	0.59	1.0	0.9	0.96
2-4 years	1.3	1.2	1.25	1.8	1.4	1.6
5-7 years	1.7	2.0	1.85	2.7	2.5	2.6
8-10 years	2.2	2.6	2.4	4.6	4.4	4.5
11-13 years	3.1	3.5	3.3	5.6	5.1	5.35
14-16 years	4.2	3.9	4.05	6.8	6.6	6.7
17-19 years	4.3	4.1	4.15	8.3	8.4	8.35
20 years	4.6	4.4	4.5	8.8	8.5	8.5

Comparing rural and urban couples, it can be seen that rural couples surpass the urban couples by two live births by the time they reach their 8-10th year of marriage. The average rural wife is also more likely to continue giving birth than the urban wife after her tenth year of marriage.

The average interval between two successive births for the rural sample is slightly less than two years (1.93 mean years) for both types of households, whereas that of the urban sample is 4.3 years.

Miscarriage had been experienced by 17.5 percent of the rural wives, stillbirths by 6 percent, and infant deaths by 11.5 percent. In contrast only 5 percent of urban wives had miscarriages; 1.0 percent had stillbirths and only 2 percent experienced death of children (4 cases).

About one-third of the child mortality was caused by cholera-eltor, 26% respiratory illness, 21% malnutrition, and the rest were victims of various types of infection (mostly tetanus).

Religion. Almost all the subjects studied are Roman Catholics. Their participation in church activities however is minimal, and religion seems to have very little influence on their way of life.

The above gives only a brief sketch of the demographic and socio-economic background of the samples studied. The actual fertility behaviour of the repondent is described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

FERTILITY LEVELS OF RESPONDENT-WIVES BY FAMILY TYPE AND RESIDENCE

This chapter is organized around two principal topics which have a direct bearing on the problem: 1) the effects of family structure on fertility levels of wives and, 2) the influence of residence on the couple's fertility.

Family type and Fertility Differentials

The result of the investigation indicates that family structure is not a significant variable in determining fertility of the families under study. Hypothesis I which states that there is no significant difference in the mean fertility scores by family type is supported by the findings of this research. Despite the fact that nuclear families have more live births than the extended ones, the statistical measures employed showed that their mean fertility were essentially similar; the difference between the means did not vary significantly (see Table 12).

Perhaps one possible factor that might explain this is the current change of the wives' perception of family size. There appears to be a growing belief that Filipino couples are becoming more aware of the value attached to a small or medium sized family and, thus express their desire by curbing fertility. (Jocano, 1972). This belief has been brought about by the increasing conviction among couples that higher standards of life can be attained by changing their attitudes regarding fertility. They believe that high fertility would seriously impede the family's economic well-being and aspirations for higher levels of living.

Table 12

Standard Error of the Difference Between Mean Fertility Rates of the Nuclear and Extended Families
($\bar{Z}$ ratio)

Statistic	Nuclear Families	Extended Families
Cases (N)	200	200
Mean ($\bar{X}$)	3.8	3.4
Standard Deviation (S)	2.23	2.27
Standard Error (SE)	0.1580	0.1609
Standard Error of the Difference between means (SED)	0.226	
Difference between means (MD)	0.4	
$\bar{Z}$ ratio	1.767 (NS)	

Table 13

Number of Children Desired
by Family Type (Percent)

Number of Children Desired	Nuclear	Extended	Both
2	20.5	22.5	21.50
3	37.5	31.0	34.25
4	25.5	20.0	22.75
5	7.5	15.5	11.50
6	3.0	4.0	3.50
7	2.5	1.0	1.75
8 and over	3.5	6.0	4.75
Total			
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.00
Cases	200	200	400

One outstanding fact from the data gathered is that majority of the wives from both the nuclear and extended families have few live births. Slightly more than 65 percent of the total subjects have three or less live births. A preference for a small or moderate number of children was expressed by the wives in response to the question about how many children they desire to have. More than three-fourths (78.5 percent) of the wives desired 4 or less children. Of this proportion, 71 percent desired 3 or less. Figures in Table 13 shows that typically the ideal number of children desired by most of the respondents is three. The number of children desired by the wives from both the nuclear and extended families was about the same. Although the extended family wives desire more children than the nuclear family wives, the mean difference is not significant (see Table 14). Moreover, almost three-fourths of the wives (71 percent) did not want to have additional children. The proportion of those who expressed this opinion were similar when classified by family type.

Table 14

Standard Error of the Difference Between the Mean Number of Children Desired of the Nuclear and Extended Family Wives ($\bar{Z}$ ratio)

Statistic	Nuclear Families	Extended Families
Cases (N)	200	200
Mean ($\bar{X}$)	3.62	3.83
Standard Deviation (S)	1.621	1.853
Standard Error (SE)	0.115	0.13
Standard Error of the difference between means (SED)	0.1735	
Difference between means (MD)	0.21	
$\bar{Z}$ ratio	1.210 (Not significant)	

The reasons given for not wanting additional children range from the economic costs of children as perceived by the wives to the physical and psychological strain involved in the rearing of children (see Table 15). As many as 85 percent of the wives who did not want more children cited financial burden in the maintenance of an additional child as the principal reason. This is even more apparent among rural wives where practically every woman considered poverty as the most significant limiting factor. The problem of feeding, clothing and educating the children was consistently reported as a strong deterrent to the couple's desire for more children. About 70 percent of the urban wives who did not want additional children cited the same reason even though they can, financially speaking, afford to raise additional children. Others cited physical strain, job interference, curtailment of personal freedom and less opportunity to indulge in a more comfortable or luxurious lifestyle as essential reasons for not wanting more children.

In terms of family planning, the wives among both the nuclear and extended families exhibited good knowledge, a positive attitude and a fair amount of use of birth control.

In fact, when the respondents were asked if they have heard of birth control or family planning to keep a woman from having too many children, all the wives from both the nuclear and extended families expressed some knowledge of birth control in general. But in order to find out how much they really knew about birth control, the respondents were asked to enumerate the different kinds of birth control methods that they knew. The result of this inquiry is presented in Table 16. There were just as many nuclear as extended family wives from both urban and rural areas who know about the same number of methods. Among the urban sample, 80 percent of the extended wives and 71 percent of nuclear ones know 7 or more methods. Their difference is not significant (see Appendix D, page 88 for chi-square test result). The number actually known ranged from 7-14 methods. For the rural sample, 82 percent of the extended wives and 84 percent of nuclear wives knew 3 or more methods. Their difference is likewise, not significant (see Appendix D, page 88 for Chi-square test result).

Table 15

Reasons For Not Wanting Additional Children

	Urban		Rural		Both	
	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent
Economic reasons (financial problems, job interference, problem of clothing, feeding, and schooling of children, etc.)	108	71.5	133	100.0	241	84.8
Physical (physical strain, complication during pregnancy, etc.)	27	17.8	7	5.3	34	11.9
Psycho-sociological (less time, attention and freedom of movement, fear of pregnancy)	18	11.9	4	3.8	22	7.7
Ideal number concept (3, 4, 5 is enough)	13	8.6	12	9.0	25	8.8

Table 16

Distribution of Methods Known by Wives by Residence and Family Type

	Urban		Rural	
	Nuclear	Extended	Nuclear	Extended
	(Percent of Wives Who Named the Method)			
IUD	100	100	53	55
Pill	100	100	66	55
Condom	100	100	94	89
Withdrawal	100	100	98	96
Rhythm	100	100	94	95
Vasectomy	100	100	27	23
Ligation	100	100	38	32
Sampoon	56	57	2	-
Diaphragm	54	62	1	1
Foam	28	42	-	1
Jelly	34	21	1	-
Douche	11	7	-	-
Abstinence	4	9	41	36
Abortion	2	-	-	-

The findings indicate that majority of the wives favor birth control. Family type is not significantly associated with birth control attitude. Slightly more than four-fifths (83.5 percent) of nuclear wives and a little less than four-fifths (78.5 percent) of the extended wives possessed a favorable attitude towards birth control. The proportion of those who felt that birth control was "bad" was small; 16.5 percent, nuclear and 21.5 percent, extended. When the chi-square test was employed, the difference was not significant (see Appendix D, page 88 for chi-square test result).

The third issue was to find out the extent of birth control practice in the sample. Furthermore, it is also important to know whether differences exist between wives coming from nuclear and extended families in their extent of birth control practice. The questions formulated in this regard were the following: "Are you presently using any birth control method?" If "yes", specify what method. If "no", "have you at anytime since your marriage made any attempt to avoid or delay pregnancy by using any birth control method?"

More than half of the wives replied that they are presently using birth control; 52 percent (208 cases) answered "yes" and 48 percent (192 cases) answered "no", irrespective of family type. The data seem to suggest that birth control practice is relatively widespread.

Table 17 shows that there is the proportion of nuclear and extended wives who practised and did not practise some forms of birth control is almost the same. The statistical test employed indicate that the difference between the nuclear and extended family wives is not significant (see Appendix D, page 88 for chi-square test result), despite the fact that more nuclear family wives than extended family wives use birth control. Therefore, family structure does not have a significant bearing on the birth control practic of the wives under investigation which in turn, does not significantly influence fertility.

Table 17

Wives' Responses to the Question: "Are you practising some kind of birth control?" According to Residence and Family Type (Percent)

N = 400 Wives

	Urban			Rural		
Nuclear	: Extended	: Cases	Nuclear	: Extended	: Cases	
YES	70.0	73.0	143	36.0	29.0	65
NO	30.0	27.0	57	64.0	71.0	135
Cases	100.0	100.0	200	100.0	100.0	200

The result would seem to indicate that fertility decisions rest upon the couples alone and not influenced by the presence/non presence of kin. The traditional extended family system in most developing and non-industrialized societies at present, does not exert such a strong control over the behavior of its members as formerly assumed by Lorimer (1954) and Davis (1955). Stycos (1958) states that for the current period of declining child mortality, fertility behavior is no longer influenced by family structure. Both families experience the same process of fertility increase or reduction. This contention appears to disprove Lorimer's (1954) assumption that the presence of elders among extended families would encourage a positive desire for many children; that in the area of marriage and childbearing, tradition gives the older kin or elder family members a larger say over the couple's decision; and, that the kin group tends to affect fertility because children are highly valued as economic assets, insurance against old age and a demonstration of male virility. In contrast, Stycos (1958) and Freedman (1961) speculate that the presence of older kin in the household does not affect fertility levels of couples at the present time. Young couples of today's generation express a more autonomous stand than the couples before. It becomes apparent especially on matters pertaining to childbearing. This implies that modernization has modified the traditional structures of the extended family and had therefore destroyed the traditionally sanctioned obligation between couples and the kin group as compared to earlier times.

The findings of this study, however, indicate that the presence of older kin in the household and their subsequent communication with the repondents have not strongly influenced the decision of the number of children the couple has. When the respondents were asked whether the presence of older relatives influenced their decision to have their present number of children; 94 percent of the extended family wives reported they were not influenced one way or the other.

Conversely, the assumption of Nag (1967), Pakrasi and Malaker (1967), Bebarta (1964) and Mathen (1962) that high fertility is a

characteristic among nuclear families is likewise not supported. Their basic assumptions that the extended families afford little privacy due to overcrowding in the home, that sexual taboos have to be observed during certain periods, and that the "feeling of shame" shown by women who get pregnant during the pregnancy of their daughters or daughters-in-law would all contribute to lower frequency of coitus and lower fertility seem not to be supported by the data for the Philippines. A comparison of the average coital frequency between the types of families does not show any significant difference between them (see Tables 18 and 19). Findings from the data gathered empirically do not support the assumption that links coital frequency with fertility. If the respondents' reports concerning their sexual activities are taken at face value, a different trend can be deduced instead; higher frequency of sexual intercourse is rampant among younger couples with relatively lower birth rates. Table 20 shows the mean weekly frequency of sexual intercourse according to the respondent's age, number of live births, family structure and residence. Higher incidence of sexual abstinence are found among wives 35 years old and above with 5 or more live births.

The findings tend to indicate that family structure is not a weighty factor on the problem. They only serve to support Stycos and Freedman's view that there is no inherent connection between the nuclear and extended family structures and fertility . The rate of fertility is dependent upon the interest of the couples alone. It may be high or low according to the wishes of the husbands and wives.

Probably the concept of the family developmental cycle has to be considered when studying the problem. Families do not usually stick to a single type family arrangement throughout their developmental cycle. Instead, families inevitably experience different stages of development, undergoing changes in size and composition. For example, a newly married couple may start of by staying with either the husband's or wife's family of orientation within an extended arrangement. But with the coming of the children or for employment possibilities the couple may decide to establish a home of their own and becomes a neo-local nuclear family. Later, as the children mature and eventually

Table 18

Mean Weekly Frequency of Sexual Intercourse
by Family Type and Residence

Family type	Urban Mean	Rural Mean
Nuclear	2.9	2.7
Extended	2.8	2.3

Table 19

Analysis of Variance Test Results of Coital
Frequency by Family Type and Residence

Comparisons	Standard Error	t ratio	Degrees of freedom	Level of significance
Comparison I urban-nuclear families vs. urban extended families	0.4360	0.1606	198	not significant
Comparison II rural nuclear vs. rural extended families	0.4360	1.0321	198	not significant
Comparison III urban families vs. rural families	0.6166	0.9082	396	not significant

Table 20

Mean Live Births and Mean Weekly Frequency of Sexual Intercourse by Ages of Wives, Residence and Family Type

	URBAN						RURAL					
	Live Births (Mean)			Weekly Frequency of Sexual Intercourse (Mean)			Live Births (Mean)			Weekly Frequency of Sexual Intercourse (Mean)		
Age	Family Type			Family Type			Family Type			Family Type		
	Nuclear	Extended	Both	Nuclear	Extended	Both	Nuclear	Extended	Both	Nuclear	Extended	Both
15–19	1.0	0.5	0.75	6.1	5.8	6.0	1.3	1.2	1.3	5.4	4.2	4.8
20–24	1.2	1.3	1.3	2.9	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.2	2.3	3.6	2.9	3.3
25–29	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.7	2.6	2.7	3.5	3.3	3.4	2.2	2.4	2.3
30–34	3.1	2.7	2.9	1.5	1.2	1.4	4.6	5.1	4.9	1.9	2.0	2.0
35–39	4.2	3.7	4.0	1.1	0.9	1.0	6.0	6.5	6.3	1.4	1.7	1.6
40+	5.3	4.8	5.0	0.6	0.5	0.6	7.5	7.9	7.7	0.6	0.8	0.7
Cases	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200

decide to marry, they either stay with the couple or may move to a home of their own. This process although varying in extent and duration continues to characterize the family in many parts of the Philippines. Castillo (1971) emphasizes the different stages of family composition, starting with a nuclear or an extended type, then moves to another and thus, undergoing a period of expansion and contraction.

Residence and Fertility Differentials

Hypothesis 2 states that there is a significant difference between the urban and the rural types of residence on their fertility scores.

Table 21 indicates that difference in fertility levels between the wives of the urban families and wives from rural families is significant. The rural wives have a significantly higher number of live births than their urban counterparts with the former having a mean of 4.63 children as against the latter's mean of 2.61 children. Based on the results of the statistical measures employed, hypothesis 2 is confirmed. Rural wives have higher live birth rates than urban wives.

Table 21

Standard Error of the Difference Between the Mean Fertility Rates of the Urban and Rural Wives
($\overline{Z}$ ratio)

Statistic	Urban	Rural
Cases (N)	200	200
Mean ($\overline{X}$)	2.61	4.63
Standard Deviation (S)	1.460	2.3803
Standard Error (SE)	0.1035	0.1687
Standard Error of the difference between Means (SED)	0.198	
Difference between Means (MD)	2.02	

As shown in Table 22 the fertility of rural wives is consistently higher than urban wives at all the age levels. In the age cohort 30-34, rural wives have already had two live births more than their urban cousins, and by the end of their fecundity period the rural subjects have between three or more children than the urban subjects. Thus, earlier studies notably by Concepcion (1963), Fleiger (1977), Freedman et.al. (1963), Fawcett et.al. (1971), Thompson (1953) and others asserting that urban-rural residence affects fertility supported by the empirical findings of this research. Wives residing in cities exhibit lower fertility rates than wives residing in rural areas. Apparently, urban couples respond more positively to birth control than the rural families.

Table 22

Mean Number of Live Births by Residence and Ages of Wives
N = 400 Wives

Age	Urban	Rural
15-19	0.75	1.3
20-24	1.3	2.3
25-29	2.0	3.4
30-34	2.9	4.9
35-39	4.0	6.3
40+	5.0	7.7
Number of Cases	200	200

A number of factors may have contributed to the difference in fertility behaviour between urban and rural couples.

One possible explanation is the difference in the number of children desired. This may be explained by the apparent disparities of the socio-economic conditions between the urban and the rural families. Socio-economic background also tends to influence the couple's communication patterns concerning matters like family size preference. For example, the urban sample wives who belong to the middle and upper classes of Cebu City are more likely to discuss with their husbands the number of children they want than are the poor rural wives. In Table 23 which deals with the couples' communication regarding family size matters, analysis of the wives responses according to the urban-rural classification shows an inverse trend.

Table 23

Wives Who Discussed and Did Not Discuss With Their Husbands the Number of Children Desired By Residence (Percent)

	Urban		Rural	
	Percent	Cases	Percent	Cases
Discussed	96.5	193	39.5	79
Did not discuss	3.5	7	60.5	121
Total	100.0	200	100.0	200

Slightly less than two-fifths (39.5 percent) of the rural wives discussed the topic with their husbands. More than two-thirds of the rural wives never discuss the issue with their husbands. By way of contrast, almost all (96.5 percent) of the urban wives communicate with their husbands on the number of children they want. This trend indicates that a positive relationship exists between urban residence and conjugal communication.

It is significant to note that "urbanness" perse is not the only actual determinant of the tendency of the couples to communicate between themselves on the issue but rather the attributes of urban living may account for it: more education, more exposure to various mass media and types of occupation. These may have directly helped in shaping the attitudes and decision-making of the urban couples on their family size preferences in particular, and their orientation to issues in general. In fact, the correlation existing between education and communication on family size preferences between husband and wife is high (r = +0.913). These characteristics are less prevalent in the rural setting.

When a follow-up question: "Do you want to have more children?" was analyzed according to rural-urban residence, results tend to support the previous finding. Slightly more than three-fourths (75.5 percent) of the urban wives and two-thirds (66.5 percent) of rural wives did not want additional children. Rural-urban difference is a significant determinant on the wives decision to have more children (see Appendix D, page 88 for chi-square test result). Urban women are more likely than rural women to limit their number of children.

The investigation then shifted from the wives merely wanting to have more children to the more concrete or specific investigation: the exact number of children desired. When responses of wives in their desired number of children were classified according to urban and rural residence the difference was significant (see Table 24). The rural group desired 4.42 children while the urban group desired 3.04 children

However, the findings belie the popular notion that rural women generally desire larger families. As shown in Table 25, most of these women desire 3 or 4 children as the ideal family size. These women are aware of the serious consequences of unplanned child births and explicitly expressed their intention to control family size.

The effect of residence on the family size desires of the wives is also supported by the findings of the data concerning the respondents

Table 24

Standard Error of the Difference Between the Mean Number of Children Desired of the Urban and Rural Wives ($\bar{Z}$ ratio)

Statistic	Urban	Rural
Cases (N)	200	200
Means ($\bar{X}$)	3.04	4.42
Standard Deviation (S)	0.935	1.81
Standard Error (SE)	0.07	0.13
Standard Error of the difference between means (SED)	0.158	
Difference between means (MD)	1.38	
$\bar{Z}$	8.73 (significant at .01 level)	

reaction to the five scaled indices presented to them (see Appendix C page 87 for a detailed discussion of the index of family size desires).

When the scores were classified by residence, almost all of the urban (98.5 percent) wives disagreed with the statements, having a mean score of 6.6; while only about two-thirds (64.3 percent) of the rural wives disagreed (a mean score of 8.5). Only 0.5 percent of the urban wives and 29.7 percent of the rural wives agreed with statements.[1] On the undecided responses 9.2 percent belong to

[1]Of the total wives who responded to the indices, some were stricken out for inconsistencies. Inconsistency was scored on the subjects' responses which agreed on some of the items but disagreed on the others, in which case their responses were discounted. Of the 400 wives interviewed, 15 cases (3.75 percent) were eliminated for inconsistency. All the inconsistent responses were from rural wives. Higher mean age, (mean age = 37.4) high fertility and low education were general characteristics of these inconsistent respondents. Correlation between inconsistency and low level of education was moderately high (r = +0.53); inconsistency with high fertility was substantially high (r = +0.66).

rural wives, and 1.0 percent belong to the urban wives. Comparatively, as can be gleaned from the above findings practically almost all of the urban samples did not conform to the family size desires index while slightly less than two-thirds of rural wives expressed the same opinion.

However, it is not rural residence perse that is directly accountable for the significant difference between rural and urban wives in their responses to the indices. For the rural group, such characteristics as fatalism or rationalization, low education, in some cases, illiteracy, higher birth rates and higher mean age, may have some effects on the wives. Table 26 shows the corelation between responses to family size desire index and some related variables discussed above.

When the respondents were asked to name the different birth control methods, the results confirm the earlier assumption that all the subjects more or less know about birth control. As a matter of fact rural wives have a good knowledge of some birth control methods. Almost three-fourths (72 percent) of this group enumerated at least 3 or 4 methods of birth control.

However, when the data was classified according to the number and types of methods known, contrasting facts occurred. Urban wives knew a lot more methods (mean number of methods know = 8.33) than the rural wives who identified less methods (mean = 3.71). Their mean difference is significant.

Among urban wives, each respondent was able to mention at least 7 methods among which the IUD, the pill, the condom, rhythm, withdrawal and sterilization (ligation and vasectomy) were the most commonly known methods. About half of the total number of urban cases failed to mention other devices like the diaphragm, sampoon, foam, jelly and douche. This indicates that a large number of the mechanical-chemical methods are less popular among many of the subjects who only have a vague notion of the nature and manner of application of these types of birth control.

Table 25

Number of Children Desired
by Residence (Percent)

N = 400 cases

Number of Children Desired	Urban	Rural
2	29.5	8.5
3	48.0	26.0
4	14.0	24.5
5	6.5	24.5
6	2.0	4.5
7	-	4.0
8 and over	-	8.0
Total		
Percent	100.0	100.0
Cases	200	200

Table 26

Correlational Relationship Between Some Variables and the Rural Wives' Responses to the Index of Family Size Desires

Variables	Coefficient of Correlation (r)
The older the wife the more she agrees	+0.88
The younger the wife the more she disagrees	+0.102
The lower the years of schooling, the more disagreement	+0.69
The higher the years of schooling, the higher the degree of disagreement	+0.69
The more children, the more agreement	+0.45
The less children, the higher the disagreement	-0.76

On the other hand the most frequently cited methods by the rural women were the condom, rhythm, and withdrawal. Withdrawal was cited as the most popular method. The IUD, the pill and sterilization, which were quite familiar to the urban wives, were mentioned by a lesser percentage of the rural wives. Of the rural group, 60 percent cited the pill; 54 percent, the IUD; 35 percent, ligation; and 25 percent, vasectomy. One distinguishing characteristic of the rural group was that a substantial number (38.5 percent) emphasized abstinence as a control method while only 7 percent of the urban cases mentioned this method in particular. This probably reflects the urban-couples' conviction that abstinence may be an unrealistic form of birth control.

The findings also show that many rural women knew usually the more traditional methods of birth control - the kinds that have recently been proven to be less effective as well as more difficult to practise or use. The condom, the only modern method often cited, is limited to males.

Comparatively therefore, there appears to be a marked difference in knowledge of birth control methods between the urban and the rural wives, although the rural wives are just as generally aware of the concept of birth control. The urban wives would seem to fare better in this aspect because although in practice one method may be sufficient, knowledge of the different methods can provide the basis for a wider range of choices from which to select more effective alternative technique for fertility control. This means that not only are urban women likely to have heard of the different contraceptive methods but they also prossess more knowledge of the methods than their rural counterparts.

Table 27 presents the mean number of birth control methods known by wives classified according to the number of live births which they have. For urban wives generally, those with higher fertility have known more methods than those with lower fertility. In contrast, among the rural wives, excluding those who have from 0-2 live births, those with higher number of live births, knew less methods.

Table 27

Mean Number of Birth Control Methods Known by the Number of Live Births and Residence
N = 400 Wives

	Urban	Cases	Rural	Cases
Number of live births				
0–2	7.3	119	3.3	39
3–4	8.5	68	4.2	62
5–6	9.2	23	3.8	54
7–8	-	-	2.8	33
9+	-	-	2.3	12
Total		200		200

The reason why urban wives who have more live births have been associated with greater knowledge of birth control methods is that they are probably more aware of the need to control fertility. Such "last minute" attempt to control or delay pregnancy may have strongly motivated them to find out more about methods which are effective. It is also important to note in this connection that the dissemination of birth control information by various agencies and media in Cebu province reached their peak around the 1960s when these subjects would have had 2 or more children. Hence they were motivated to learn the various methods of birth control.

On the other hand, it seems only logical that rural wives who have less children (2–5) would show more interest in the methods of birth control, since they can still limit birth if they so desired.

Those who already have had many children (6 and above) would probably have the least motivation. This latter group probably tended to adopt a kind of fatalistic attitude and would therefore rationalize their uncurbed fertility. This may partly explain the significant difference in fertility levels between the urban and rural wives.

To tease out the respondents' attitudes on birth control, a projective type of question was formulated: "What do you think of birth control, in general? Do you feel it is good or bad?"

Residence appears related to the attitudes of wives toward birth control. Among the urban wives 94.5 percent felt birth control to be good while a lesser proportion of the rural subjects (68.5 percent) expressed the same opinion. The difference is significant (see Appendix D, page 88 for chi-square test result). The data demonstrates that negative attitudes toward birth control is still relatively rampant among rural wives with high birth rates.

Difference in education is probably the most important explanation for the variability of attitudes toward birth control between the urban and rural wives. The fact is that 90 percent of the urban wives are college graduates. There is a very wide gap in the education level between urban and rural wives. The latter has only an average of 5 years of elementary education.

Five of the 11 cases of urban women who were of the conviction that birth control was "bad" were college graduates. However, this is only a very small percentage. Presumably, other factors, such as religion, for instance, may have influenced their unfavorable attitude.

While it has been determined that the extent of knowledge and attitude towards birth control differ significantly by urban-rural residence, more definitive findings emerge when the extent of birth control practice was classified according to the urban-rural typology. Of the rural wives barely one-half (46 percent) of those who previously favored birth control used any method. By way of contrast, among the urban subjects who have a positive attitude towards birth control, slightly less than four-fifths (78.8 percent) who previously favored

birth control employed some kinds of contraceptive device to limit fertility. The findings also show that while there were almost the same number of wives who practised as those who did not, most of those who did, were urban wives, while most of those who did not, came from the rural families. An outstanding conclusion that can be drawn here is that urban wives tended to be consistant in their attitude and practice of birth control while the rural wives tended to be inconsistent. Of the total sample of wives who did not use birth control about 70 percent were rural while the rest (30 percent) were urban. This means that there were almost as many urban wives who practised some form of birth control as rural wives who did not practise any form of birth control (71.5 and 67.5 percent respectively). Hypothesis 2 is therefore supported by the above results (see Appendix D, page 88 for discussion of chi-square test result).

When the respondents were asked to name the specific methods they employed to control fertility, about half (45 percent) of the total number of users were using traditional methods like rhythm, abstinence and withdrawal. The rest claimed they were using the modern mechanical-chemical methods.

The majority of the urban couples employ modern and relatively more effective types of control, while the majority of rural couples use the traditional/natural forms. However, more urban wives than rural ones rely on rhythm, a natural method. Probably urban couples, given the most favorable condition (urban residence, relatively good education, better exposure to the media, etc.) can use rhythm effectively as a method of birth control. The growing belief that rhythm is a popular method among the urban and better educated couples may be attributed to their better discipline and greater knowledge of human physiology and conception.

Among the rural couples, 37 percent of the users rely on abstinence and withdrawal, 31 percent, rhythm and 32 percent modern methods, especially ligation and IUD.

In contrast, among the urban couples, 65 percent use modern methods, 29 percent rhythm, and 6 percent abstinence and withdrawal.

Of the modern techniques, the pill is by far most popular with the urban wives, vasectomy and condom for their husbands, followed by rhythm. Ligation, sampoon, IUD and foam are less frequently used. Thus, urban wives are more likely to practise birth control than the rural wives. (see Table 28)

Table 28

Types of Birth Control Methods Used by Residence (Percent)
N = 208 cases

Methods	Urban	Rural
Rhythm	29.0	31.0
Pill	22.0	4.0
Vasectomy	15.0	4.0
Condom	12.0	6.0
Ligation	4.4	10.0
Sampoon	5.1	-
IUD	2.1	8.0
Foam	4.4	-
Abstinence	2.8	20.0
Withdrawal	3.5	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The findings therefore reveal that the urban wives expressed a greater understanding, a more favorable attitude and a more consistent ability to practise family planning than the rural wives. These appear to be consistent with earlier findings regarding family

size desires, where urban wives were more likely than the rural ones to prefer a small family. Likewise, these factors probably provide a logical explanation for the significant fertility difference between the urban and the rural families.

Background differences between the urban and rural family wives provide another possible explanation for the variability of fertility levels among the groups under study. One such characteristic is education. Wives with college or high school education (an urban characteristic) have markedly lower mean fertility than do the less educated rural wives.

The findings also show that the rural wives with less years of schooling (0-4), tended to have higher birth rates, while rural wives with more years of schooling (5 years and over), have lower birth rates. The figures on mean live births in Table 29 shows the relationship between education and fertility of the rural wives. Women with 2 or less years of standard education have the highest fertility (4.8 mean live births) while women who have finished elementary education have the least number of live births (3.1 mean live births).

Table 29

Mean Number of Live Births by Rural Women's Education
N = 200 Rural Wives

Years of Schooling	Live Births
0-2	4.75
3-4	4.6
5-6 and over	3.1

Another relevant demographic factor is the wife's age at marriage. This variable affects duration of cohabitation and ultimately, the fertility levels of urban and rural wives. A comparison of ages at marriage of wives by residence indicates that rural couples tended to marry earlier than urban couples. This has invariably affected the couples duration of marriage. This has significantly affected fertility rates between the two groups. (see Table 30).

Table 30

Mean Number of Live Births According to Age of Wives and Duration of Marriage

Age	Urban		Rural	
	Duration of marriage (mean)	No. of live births	Duration of marriage (mean)	No. of live births
15-19	1.3	0.75	1.9	1.3
20-24	2.6	1.3	4.1	2.3
25-29	5.4	2.0	7.7	3.4
30-34	7.0	2.9	12.6	4.9
35-39	9.8	4.0	15.8	6.3
40+	16.9	5.0	20.5	7.7

The data in Table 30 likewise presents the relationship between age and duration of marriage on the one hand, and the number of live births (fertility), on the other. The number of live births increased as the years of marriage and ages of couples advanced.

For the urban households, housewives 40 years and above, with a mean of 16.9 years of marriage, have a mean of 5.0 live births: this is the highest among the six age categories. The number of live births increases by about one child per age category.

For the rural group, wives who are 40 years and above, with a mean of 20.5 years of marriage, have a mean of 7.7 live births. However, between each of the age category, there is a difference of about 1.5 live births; this increase is higher than that of the urban group.

Perhaps, infant mortality and miscarriage are two other demographic variables which explain the higher birth rates among rural couples. Infant or child mortality is considerably higher in the rural than in urban areas. A review of the findings in chapter II (page 31), shows that rural couples have 27 infant or child deaths compared to only 4 deaths for urban couples. Furthermore, these rural deaths are due to malnutrition, poor health and sanitation, and diseases such as cholera-eltor and pneumonia. As a result rural couples tend to bear more children so as to replace those who died in their infancy. In addition, seventeen percent of the rural wives, while only 5 percent of urban wives have experienced miscarriages. This factor together with higher mortality rate probably induce the rural couples to have more children.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

This study is an attempt to investigate the effects of family structure and residence on the fertility performance of couples.

Four hundred families were randomly selected from 2,357 households in the city of Cebu and in the municipality of Dumanjug, a town some 80 kilometers away from the city, located in the southwest coast of the island. The subjects selected were than cross-classified according to the nuclear-extended family typoloy.

The areas designated represented two types of residence, namely, urban and rural. Two barrios belonging to the city of Cebu, and six barrios located in the fringes of the town of Dumanjug, were selected on the basis of their markedly contrasting socio-economic conditions.

An interview schedule covering significant aspects of the family, such as the communication patterns, economy, and some demographic and cultural variables relevant to the fertility problem, was devised. Formulation of the data-collection instrument involved the determination and selection of items, pre-testing for validity and reliability, and revision, before finalization.

Using the interview schedule, interviews were conducted by trained interviewers.

The main objectives were twofold: a) to determine the fertility differentials of couples according to family type, b) to determine the fertility differentials of couples according to residence.

Two null hypotheses were tested to measure the differential effects of family structure and residence on the fertility rates of the sample-wives.

Hypothesis 1

There is no significant difference between the nuclear and extended types of families on their mean fertility scores.

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant difference between urban and rural samples residence in their mean fertility scores.

Hypothesis 1 is accepted. The findings of this study indicate that family structure is not a significant variable in determining the differential fertility of the wives. The nuclear families have a mean of 3.8 live births while the extended families have a mean of 3.4 live births. When their mean difference was statistically tested, the difference was not significant.

Hypothesis 2 is rejected. There appears to be a significant difference in the mean fertility scores between the urban and rural family wives; the former group with 2.61 mean live births as against the latter groups 4.63 mean live births. The Z test indicated that the difference between both means was significant.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions drawn from the findings of this study are:

1. Family structure has no significant effect on the fertility of the wives. The mean live births of the extended family is similar to that of the nuclear family. The theory propounded by Lorimer (1954) and Davis (1955) that the extended family structure encourages high fertility is not confirmed in this research. On the other hand, the argument of Nag (1967), Potti and Datta (1967), Pakrasi and Malaker (1967) and Mathen (1960) that the nuclear family system tends to result in high fertility is likewise not confirmed by the empirical

evidences of this study. Two possible factors are considered relevant in explaining the insignificant effect of family structures on fertility rates. One is the changing attitude among Filipino couples (whether or not they belong to extended or nuclear households) toward childbearing. There is to be a growing awareness among couples of the value of small sized families and that higher standards of life can be achieved by limiting birth. The second possible explanation is that fertility rates rest upon the decision of the couples alone; that there is no connection between the nuclear and the extended family structure and fertility. The rate of fertility may be high or low, according to the wishes of the husbands and wives.

2. Residence has a significant effect on fertility levels. The rural families have markedly higher fertility than the urban families.

The significant difference can be explained by a number of socio-demographic differences that apparently distinguish the urban from the rural sample. First is the difference in the number of children desired. The urban wives desired a significantly lower mean number of children than the rural wives. In addition, the urban wives expressed a fair understanding, a more positive attitude and a more consistent ability to practise family planning than rural wives. Perhaps the difference in socio-economic status between the urban and rural wives might have helped in shaping the wives' family size preference as well as their intention to apply family planning.

The demographic differences in educational level, age at marriage, duration of marriage and child mortality between the urban and the rural family wives also provide possible explanations to the significant fertility differences.

The findings reveal that urban wives with college education have lower fertility than the less educated rural wives. Rural wives tend to marry earlier and have a relatively longer length of cohabitation than the urban wives. This factor has, increased the risk of high fertility among the rural samples. Infant or child mortality is rampant in the rural areas and this has possibly induced the rural couples to bear more children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are implied:

1. Since it is the rural more than the urban families which bear the brunt of a large family, and the consequential effects of having many children, it is recommended that a step-up information drive for the rural population and an ongoing program of guidance be planned and organized for immediate implementation by the agencies concerned. The program should focus on educating the people on such significant topics as developing the right motivation for fertility reduction or limitation; developing realistic goals and understanding of technical know-how of the more effective types of birth control methods;

2. The rural couples, on account of their limited learning and capabilities, would need to be systematically assisted and guided in the restructuring of their conception and understanding of what constitute responsible parenthood and on the right perception of the effects of modern control devises especially of sterilization. A systematic follow-up of the teaching-learning process could be done by the public school teachers in their places of assignments, who could, with some ingenuity, incorporate these concerns into their parent-teachers' association's meetings, and their house visitation programs. In order for these teachers to be more effective as agents of change, they must be encourage to attend seminars and workshops on this particular societal problem. Special renumerations and incentives must be provided to encourage the teachers' participation. To ensure that teachers can instruct couples efficently, they must also be equipped with proper teaching devices.

3. Since the demographic data gathered revealed that rural parents possess an underdeveloped concept of the value of children, the church and some civic agencies should be encouraged to help the rural parents to perceive their proper and legitimate role as parents, and of the more human concept of the value of children other than just children as economic assets;

4. Since most of the rural couples under study are generally destitute and have little control over their lives, a well-balanced, well-planned economic program should be organized and well implemented by government and other agencies. The program, to be initially subsidized, should emphasize the setting up of economically viable self-help enterprises which would tap the hidden potentials of the poor.

5. Since the population problem for the rural couples is still critical, an on-going and active program of guidance with the sole intention of helping these couples to minimize childbearing should be organized.

They could be provided with the knowledge on how to forestall or delay pregnancies.

6. Since the extended family system according to this study is not in fact as solid as it appeared, where the couples tended to be re-oriented toward a more autonomous and independent, individualistic trend, it is recommended that further studies be made to investigate the extent of this trend throughout the whole province, and the effects that this re-orientation may have on the various dimensions of family life, especially, in relation to the fertility behavior of couples;

7. A follow-up study should be made to investigate the actual influence of poverty on the population problem, particularly among the subsistence farmers;

8. It would be of interest to verify this particular finding: the absence of the influence of kin presence in the couples' family size preference, i.e., the ineffectivity of the kin group in influencing opinion regarding fertility;

9. It has been shown that the findings of Lorimer and Davis on family structure as a significant factor for differential fertility is not confirmed in this study but it would be worthwhile to analyze other cultural factors with the aim of providing some answers to the problem of population and fertility.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN

Initial activities of the research were primarily focused on the production of a satisfactory data-gathering instrument, centering the work on pre-interviews, pre-testing, checking and revision of the interview schedule. The questionnaire items involved some time-consuming and careful choosing in order to ensure validity.

Some time and effort were spent in recruiting and training research assistants and assistant interviewers. Those employed were public school teachers assigned to the mountain barrios designated in the study for the rural sample, upper class students enrolled in the Behavioral Sciences, and a number of outreach workers from the Population Commission, Cebu Agency.

Their first task was data-gathering of household census in the urban and rural communities designated for the study. The main aim was the classification of the households into either of the two family arrangements: nuclear and extended families.

Four hundred families (400), from the urban and six rural barrios, were interviewed. Those from the urban communities of Guadalupe and Capitol Site were interviewed by the students and outreach workers, while those from the barrios of Dumanjug, were interviewed by the public school teachers.

Coding and tabulation of data thus gathered were done in preparation for the statistical analysis later.

Preparation of the interview schedule

initial step: a tentative schedule was devised.

The items were largely modelled after those found in various literature and current researches; they were utilized mainly as frames of references, some sort of try-out questionnaire for use in pre-testing so that an empirically valid and reliable instrument based on the pretest findings could be formulated subsequently. Pretest of this originally devised schedule was momentarily shelved since the items were considered to be inadequate.

second step: a supplementary questionnaire was formulated. An arbitrary four-page, open-ended questionnaire was formulated for use as an addition to the above tentative schedule. Its purpose was to tease out attitudes which by their nature needed indepth probing. This, the devised schedule could not do.

third step: preliminary interview. Preliminary interview of the sample couples and family members from both the nuclear and the extended families, using the supplementary questionnaire alone, followed.

A total of forty (40) families were interviewed during this phase of the work:

10 urban-nuclear families,
10 urban-extended families,
10 rural-nuclear families, and
10 rural-extended families.

Each of the interview lasted forty minutes to an hour at the most. An honest answer to every question was the ideal and for this reason, a great deal of time was spent in establishing rapport with the respondents. This was a time-consuming task. Furthermore, many urban wives exhibited reluctance to answer questions they perceived to be of a private and personal nature.

The unstructure, open-ended questionnaires tapped the opinions, attitude, belief systems and major activities of couples and relatives within the households (see Appendix B, page 85) the questions were centered on the following:

1. family size perference,

2. the value or importance attached to having children,

3. extent of communication between husbands and wives concerning family and children,

4. extent of communication between couples and young relatives of the households,

5. fertility behavior,

6. belief systems shared by those who favored a large family, and,

7. belief system shared by those who favored a small family.

fourth step: consolidation and completion of the original schedule. Results of the preliminary investigation conducted on the basis of the supplementary questionnaire was used to finalize and complete the devised schedule.

fifth step: pretesting the schedule. The pretest was given to another set of forty (40) housewives evenly distributed among the urban and rural sample; this was a different group from that which had been used in the preliminary survey.

Most of the items used as indicators were structured questions and statements provided with bipolar, precoded answers. To the question form, a "yes-no" scale was utilized; to the statement form, an "agree-disagree" scale was used to measure the reaction of respondents. The Guttman's Scalogram Analysis was employed to test the unidimensionality of the statements.

The Interview Schedule

Below is an outline of the contents of the Interview schedule in its entirety (see Appendix D, page 88 for complete form):

Block I - Household Information

Block II - Pregnancy History

Block III - Socio-economic background

Block IV - Fertility Attitudes of Couples

Block V - Presence of Young Relatives and the fertility behavior of couples

Block VI - Presence of Older Relatives and the fertility behavior of couples

Block VII - Sexual Practices

Block VIII - Knowledge of Methods of Birth control.

The interview schedule in its final form consisted of 130 items. The items were in the following forms:

1. Fill-in the blank form for such data as pregnancy history or other household information.

2. Questions answerable by pre-coded "yes or no"

3. Statements with precoded five-scaled "agree-disagree" answers, e.g., "Many children are necessary to make the home happier." Responses: 1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree, 3) undecided, 4) agree, 5) strongly agree.

Household Census

Recruitment and selection of interviewers. These were largely based on an evaluation of their academic background and interest in the research at hand. They were provided with some information of the research project, the importance of the study, and their role as field interviewers. Each prospective interviewer was assessed according to his potentials, availability during week-end field surveys, and eagerness to conduct interviews.

They were likewise informed about the interview schedule to be devised, and that this Interview Schedule was to be lengthy, involving some questions of a private and personal nature, such as, sex, contraception and others of a delicate and intimate nature which many people would not want to openly discuss, particularly with strangers.

In this connection, three criteria of selection were laid down, namely:

1. willingness and availability during field work.

2. personal-social skill necessary in establishing friendly relations with respondents, and

3. ability to initiate a conversation freely on sex and other subjects of a personal and intimate nature.

All in all, nine barrio public school teachers, seven outreach workers, and four students were employed in the survey; they were also the ones who made the survey for the household census taken earlier. Large-scale interviews were possible only on week-ends and holidays for the interviewers were seldom available on week days.

Data-gathering on household census. The appropriate choice of families to be used was based on the data from the household census enumeration. Prior to the actual data-gathering on household census, some local agencies of the government were consulted with the aim of tapping possible relevant demographic data. The agencies thus consulted were: the Population Commission, the Bureau of Census and Statistics, Commission on Elections, and a number of family planning clinics. It would have minimized time and effort if data which had to be taken by household census were available from the said agencies.

The data-gathering on household census among the urban communities, Guadalupe and Capitol Site, was the first task of the interviewers. The census listed the following demographic information:

1. Names of household heads and their respective family members,
2. Marital status,
3. Age,
4. Religion,
5. Education,
6. Age at marriage,
7. Occupation, and
8. Vocational training.

Eight enumerators took part in this activity. A total of two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven (2,357), households were enumerated from these areas. Shown in Table I and II are the areas enumerated and their respective households.

Table I

Urban Households Enumerated
(Cebu City)

Areas	Location	Number of Households
Guadalupe	Urban	749
Capitol Site	Urban	720
Total		1,469

Table II

Households (Rural) Enumerated
Municipality of Dumanjug

Areas	Location	Number of Households
Balayg'tiki	Rural	159
Bulak	Rural	123
Kanghumaud	Rural	143
Manlapay	Rural	136
Doldol	Rural	155
Pawa	Rural	172
Total		888

Classification and selection of households.

Based on the definition (see page 9, Chapter I), of the two family types, all families covered in the census enumeration were classified. Identification of the family structure was limited to the nuclear-extended, folk-urban continuum, excluding other possible classifications

such as the stem family. Table III and IV show the classification and selection of households covered by the census enumeration for both the urban and rural population samples.

Table III

Classification of Households
Urban Families
N = 1,469

Barrio	Family Types					
	Nuclear		Extended		Others*	
	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent
Guadalupe	427	57.0	104	14.0	218	29.0
Capitol Site	475	66.0	65	9.0	180	25.0
Total (1,469)	902		169		398	

Table IV

Classification of Households
Rural Families
N = 888

Barrio	Family Types					
	Nuclear		Extended		Others*	
	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent
Balayg'tiki	101	63.0	26	16.0	32	21.0
Bulak	72	59.0	16	13.0	35	28.0
Doldol	83	53.0	22	14.0	50	33.0
Kangnumaud	88	70.0	25	17.0	30	21.0
Manlapay	68	50.0	18	13.0	50	37.0
Pawa	103	60.0	22	13.0	47	27.0
Total (888)	515		129		244	

*Others include households composed of any of the following:

a. nuclear family plus parent(s)/in-law(s),
b. nuclear family plus married sibling,
c. nuclear family plus married son/daughter,
d. nuclear family plus married cousin(s),
e. nuclear family plus unmarried cousin(s),
f. nuclear family plus unmarried sibling,
g. wife or husband only with unmarried children,
h. couples only,
i. nuclear family plus nephew (s), niece (s) either married or unmarried.

Sampling method employed. The sampling procedure employed a combination of the cluster and the systematic sampling. Since it was not possible to list all the households in the urban areas, a clustering procedure was used before the samples were drawn. Barrios Guadalupe and Capitol Site were each divided into clusters. Each cluster was estimated to contain 800 households. A cluster was randomly drawn from each barangay. After listing all the households in that cluster, all the nuclear and the extended households which matched the definitions adopted earlier were listed. The list of the prospective families were grouped according to family type. From this list 50 nuclear and 50 extended families were drawn using systematic sampling. A sampling interval was first obtained before the samples were drawn. Among the urban households 100 families were sampled from each of the two city barrios making a total of 200.

For the rural-sample areas, it was possible to conduct a listing of all rural households of the six randomly selected barrios of Dumanjug. After all the nuclear and extended families were classified and segregated from each other, a systematic sampling method was employed. One hundred nuclear and one hundred extended families were likewise drawn, again making a total of 200.

The total number of households drawn according to family

type from the entire population households of eight barrios are listed in Table V. The total number of nuclear representative households numbered 200, the extended likewise numbered 200, bringing in a total of 400 households.

Table V

Selected Nuclear-Extended and Rural-Urban Household Respondents from the Eight Sample Communities of Cebu, 1979
N = 400

Barrios	Locality	Nuclear	Extended
Guadalupe	Urban	50	50
Capitol Site	Urban	50	50
Balayg'tiki	Rural	20	20
Bulak	Rural	15	16
Doldol	Rural	15	13
Kanghumaud	Rural	15	15
Manlapay	Rural	10	8
Pawa	Rural	25	28
Total		200	200

General Characteristics of the Respondents.

The respondents were mostly married women with ages ranging from 18-45 years. Husbands and relatives, among the extended families were also interviewed on certain sex information and on attitudinal questions to supplement the data supplied by the wives.

Formal Interview of Respondents

Seven interviewers took part in the survey. After the sample from all the areas of the study were drawn randomly from the pool of

households covered by the census enumeration, a list containing the respondent's name, number, home address, and telephone number was made. This list became the basis in locating the respondents. Appointments were subsequently made by the interviewers with their respondents(by phone with those who had any).

Among the 200 rural respondents, no one refused to be interviewed. Each interview lasted an average of one hour. This included the time spent in establishing rapport with the respondents. They had to be briefed on the purpose of the interview, and the reasons for the intensive probing into their personal lives.

Statistics Employed in the Analysis of Data

After the measures of central tendency have been computed (mean and median), simple correlations (Pearson's product-moment correlation), and some tests such as the chi-square, Z test and the analysis of variance were used in establishing definite relationships and determining significance of difference between groups and among the variables.

APPENDIX B

Conceptual disagreement on the definitions of nuclear and extended types of families. Nag (1965), in his fertility study of the rural villages in West Bengal, India, classified women as belonging to either the "joint" or the "simple" family, on the basis of two criteria, namely: a) families with more than one ever-married person belong to the "joint" family, and b) simple family was composed of the husband, wife, and unmarried children.

A similar study to Pakrasi and Malaker (1967) in Calcutta, India, employed the same family dimension, namely: "simple-joint" families although the criteria for jointness was less stringent than that of Nag's (Burch, 1970). They considered the joint families as composed of a simple family with one or more relatives. Earlier studies by Lorimer (1954), Davis (1955), and Freedman (1964) measured fertility differentials according to the nuclear-extended family arrangements.

All of the above authors agree in labelling the unit consisting of husband, wife, and unmarried children as simple or nuclear families. But unanimity in the concept of extendedness does not exist. As noted earlier, Nag's description of "jointness" does not fit with that of Pakrasi and Malaker's concept. Furthermore, both are inadequate to provide a satisfactory basis for comparative analysis since their category for "extendedness" may include some other groups which could be more accurately identified as nuclear than as extended. Burch (1970) noted the failure likewise to classify the "stem" family.

Lorimer and Davis introduced a broader concept of the extended family. Families belonging to the extended families according to them should meet the following criteria: a) composite group of relatives living in the same household, b) network of kin involving regular interaction such as visitation, authority pattern, mutual aid and other related communication tendencies. It is significant to take note that the above criteria is not restricted to the concept of co-residence but emphasizes likewise the importance of kin interaction.

These studies on family had been made beyond the co-residence concept, by adopting the process of kin interaction; however, there is dearth of empirical data linking this process with fertility.

A parallel study in Taiwan undertaken by Liu (1967) has been considered more adequate than the inquiries mentioned above. He classified families according to the residential make-up of its members. The following descriptions are given: a) nuclear family is composed of husband, wife, and unmarried children; b) stem family is composed of the same members as the nuclear family described above with one or more parents on either of the couple's side; c) extended family is composed of two or more nuclear families united by blood or by marriage.

APPENDIX C

THE FAMILY SIZE DESIRES INDEX

In measuring the attitude of respondent-couples on their family size desires, the Likert's Method of Summated Rating was applied on the scaled items formulated as indices of family size desires. The individual respondent was asked to react to five statements during the aforementioned indices. Each item was rated on a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree, to strongly disagree with agree, undecided, and disagree in between the two extremes. Strongly disagree obtained a score of 1 and strongly agree a score of 5. The three in between responses were each given the scores of 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

Since there were five items, attitude scores ranged from 5 to 25, where the lower the score, the smaller was the preferred number of children. A high score indicated a desire for a large family. The following are the five items used as indices of family size desires:

1. "Having many children is beneficial to the family."
2. "Having many children is one of the most important things in life."
3. "Many children are necessary to make the home happier."
4. "Having many children is a lot of trouble but is worth it."
5. "Everything considered, it is better to have many children."

APPENDIX D

CHI-SQUARE TEST RESULTS

1. Difference of those who knew 7 or more methods of birth control between the nuclear and extended family:

   a) Page 40 (urban): ^{2} = 2.18, NS

   b) Page 40 (rural): ^{2} = 0.16, NS

2. Difference in percentages of those who felt that birth control was good or bad by family type:

   Page 42 : ^{2} = 0.814, NS

3. Table 17 - difference in percentages of those who practised and did not practise family planning by family type:

   ^{2} = 0.019, NS

4. Rural-urban difference in the wives' decision to have or not to have additional children:

   Page 51 : ^{2} = 3.93, p .05

5. Difference in percentages of those who felt that birth control was good or bad by residence:

   Page 58 : ^{2} = 12.14, p .01

6. Difference in percentages of those who practiced and did not practise birth control by residence:

   Page 59 : ^{2} = 30.5, p .01

SEAPRAP

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

* To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.

* To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.

* To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

* Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.

* Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.

* Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.

* Inter-relations between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).

* Population policy, including the interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.

* Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

* Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US$7,500.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

* Graduate students in thesis programs

* Faculty members

* Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.